

Message Text

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ORIGIN SS-25

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FM SECSTATE WASHDC
TO AMEMBASSY LONDON IMMEDIATE
AMCONSUL CAPE TOWN IMMEDIATE
INFO AMEMBASSY LUSAKA PRIORITY
AMEMBASSY DAR ES SALAAM PRIORITY
AMEMBASSY MAPUTO PRIORITY
AMEMBASSY GABORONE PRIORITY
AMEMBASSY PRETORIA PRIORITY
AMEMBASSY LAGOS PRIORITY
AMEMBASSY LILONGWE PRIORITY

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EXDIS

E.O. 11652: X-GDS-2

TAGS: PDEV, RH, UK, SF

SUBJECT: RHODESIA: NEXT STEPS WITH MUZOREWA, FRONT LINE,
AND SOUTH AFRICA

REF: LONDON 3053

1. BRITISH HAVE PROPOSED, SUBJECT TO OUR MUTUAL
AGREEMENT, THAT THEY HAVE THEIR AMBASSADOR CAPE TOWN
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(SIR DAVID SCOTT) GET MESSAGE TO MUZOREWA SAYING UK
WOULD LIKE TO BRIEF HIM ON OWEN'S TALKS WITH SITHOLE
AND ASKING HOW THIS MIGHT BE DONE. MESSAGE WOULD
RE-OGNIZE THAT BISHOP MAY BE UNWILLING TO LEAVE SALISBURY
IN PRESENT CIRCUMSTANCES BUT EXPRESS HOPE HE MIGHT
SEND COLLEAGUE IN WHOM HE HAS CONFIDENCE TO MEET SCOTT
IN SA OR UK REP IN ANOTHER NEIGHBORING COUNTRY. BRIEFING

WOULD BE ORAL AND NOTHING WOULD BE HANDED OVER IN WRITING.

2. SINCE WE HAVE AGREED APPROPRIATE US AMBASSADOR SHOULD ACCOMPANY, WE HAVE PROPOSED SOME CHANGES IN DRAFT INSTRUCTIONS PREPARED BY FCO. FINAL INSTRUCTIONS, IF APPROVED BY OWEN, WOULD RUN ALONG LINES IN FOLLOWING

ADDRESSEES' INFORMATION ONLY.

3. AT PROPOSED MEETING SCOTT (OR HEAD OF POST CONCERNED) AND US AMBASSADOR BOWDLER (OR US MISSION CHIEF IN COUNTRY OF MEETING) SHOULD TELL THE BISHOP OR HIS EMISSARY THAT WE CONTINUE TO BELIEVE THE ANGLO-AMERICAN PROPOSALS OFFER THE BEST ROUTE TO A PEACEFUL SOLUTION AND, AS SUCH, WE CONTINUE TO SUPPORT THEM. IN PARTICULAR, OUR PROPOSALS OFFER THE UNIQUE ADVANTAGES OF A MECHANISM FOR ACHIEVING A CEASEFIRE, A GENUINE TRANSFER OF POWER TO THE AFRICAN MAJORITY, FAIR ELECTIONS IN WHICH ALL PARTIES WOULD BE ABLE TO PARTICIPATE ON AN EQUAL FOOTING WITHOUT FEAR OF INTIMIDATION, AND A PROCESS LEADING TO INTERNATIONALLY RECOGNIZED INDEPENDENCE AND THE LIFTING OF SANCTIONS. WE ARE PREPARED TO CONTINUE TO DISCUSS OUR PROPOSALS AT ANY TIME AND WITH ALL PARTIES CONCERNED. IN THE MEANTIME, WE DO NOT WISH TO PREJUDGE THE RESULTS OF THE ONGOING NEGOTIATIONS IN SALISBURY OR THE PROSPECTS OF THEIR PRODUCING AN OUTCOME SIMILAR TO THAT WE
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HAVE BEEN PURSUING THROUGH THE ANGLO-AMERICAN PROPOSALS. NEVERTHELESS, THE BISHOP SHOULD BE AWARE THAT DR. OWEN INFORMED SITHOLE OF HIS VIEW THAT THE INTERNAL NATIONALISTS HAD GONE DANGEROUSLY FAR IN CONCEDED THE 28 WHITE REPRESENTATION IN THE ASSEMBLY: IN THEIR OWN INTERESTS, THEY COULD NOT AFFORD TO GIVE VERY MUCH MORE AWAY, IF THE RESULTING AGREEMENT WAS TO PROVIDE FOR A GENUINE TRANSFER OF POWER TO AN INTERIM ADMINISTRATION AND FOR AN INDEPENDENT CONSTITUTION THAT GUARANTEED GENUINE MAJORITY RULE. ONLY IF IT DID THAT COULD THERE BE ANY LIKELIHOOD OF A SETTLEMENT ATTRACTING INTERNATIONAL ACCEPTANCE. WE COULD NOT SPELL OUT IN DETAIL WHAT FORM SUCH A SETTLEMENT SHOULD TAKE IN ORDER TO BE ACCEPTABLE, AND WE HAD GIVEN, AND COULD GIVE NO COMMITMENT. NEVERTHELESS WE WERE ANXIOUS TO INDICATE OUR MAJOR CONCERNS.

4. THESE INCLUDE:

- A. IT WOULD BE PREFERABLE FOR MR. SMITH TO GO STRAIGHTAWAY BUT IF HE MUST HAVE A PLACE IN THE INTERIM ADMINISTRATION (AND WE CAN SEE THE ARGUMENTS FOR THIS AS WELL AS THE ARGUMENTS AGAINST), HE SHOULD NOT BE THE HEAD OF IT;
- B. IN NO CIRCUMSTANCES SHOULD THE RHODESIAN FRONT CONTROL THE ARMED FORCES. IT WOULD BE PREFERABLE FOR

BOTH THEM AND THE POLICE TO BE RESPONSIBILITY OF THE EXECUTIVE COUNCIL OR OF SOME NEUTRAL CHAIRMAN;

C. THE RHODESIAN PARLIAMENT SHOULD EXERCISE NO LEGISLATIVE FUNCTION DURING THE INTERIM PERIOD;

D. IT WOULD BE EXTREMELY DIFFICULT TO PERSUADE INTERNATIONAL OPINION TO ACCEPT ANY POPULAR TEST OF THE NEW ARRANGEMENTS IF THAT WAS CARRIED OUT UNDER CONTROL, OR APPARENT CONTROL, OF THE RHODESIA FRONT OR THE PRESENT ADMINISTRATION. THERE WILL PROBABLY BE A NEED FOR OUTSIDE OBSERVERS (BUT IT IS HARD TO SEE
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WHO WOULD UNDERTAKE THIS TASK BEFORE THERE HAD BEEN A RETURN TO LEGALITY);

E. IF THE EUROPEANS MUST HAVE 28 OF THE SEATS IN THE NEW PARLIAMENT, IT IS IMPORTANT THAT THEIR MEMBERS SHOULD PLAY NO PA T IN THE ELECTION OR IMPEACHMENT OF THE PRESIDENT (AND, AS ALREADY AGREED, THAT THEY SHOULD BE CONSTITUTIONALLY DEBARRED FROM ENTERING INTO A COALITION GOVERNMENT WITH ANOTHER PARTY);

F. IN GENERAL, THE INDEPENDENCE CONSTITUTION SHOULD BE MODELLED AS CLOSELY AS POSSIBLE ON THAT OUTLINED IN THE ANGLO/AMERICAN PROPOSALS (THE BISHOP'S EMISSARY COULD BE GIVEN ANOTHER COPY OF THE DESCRIPTION OF THE CONSTITUTION);

G. THERE SHOULD BE A GENUINE INTEGRATION OF THE PRESENT SECURITY FORCES AND THE FREEDOM FIGHTERS (EG GUERRILA MILITARY LEADERS MUST HAVE A RESPONSIBLE PLACE IN THE NEW COMMAND STRUCTURE);

H. MAJORITY RULE ELECTIONS SHOULD TAKE PLACE AS SOON AS PRACTICABLE SO THAT INDEPENDENCE WILL COME ABOUT BEFORE THE END OF 1978.

I. THERE SHOULD BE A GENUINE ATTEMPT TO INVOLVE THE EXTERNALLY-BASED NATIONALIST LEADERS.

THAT THE FOREGOING POINTS ARE DRAWN FROM THE BASIC PRINCIPLES UNDERLYING OUR OWN SETTLEMENT PROPOSALS, WHICH WE WILL CONTINUE TO USE AS THE STANDARD AGAINST WHICH ANY SETTLEMENT AGREEMENT SHOULD BE JUDGED.

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6. FINALLY, SCOTT OR WHOEVER SEES MUZOREWA SHOULD TELL HIM DR. OWEN WOULD WELCOME AN OPPORTUNITY OF A PERSONAL MEETING AS SOON AS MUZOREWA JUDGES IT CONVENIENT.

7. IN ADDITION TO FOREGOING AMBASSADORS SCOTT AND BOWDLER SHOULD SEEK AN APPOINTMENT WITH FOURIE IN SAG DEPT OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS TO CONVEY FOLLOWING POINTS (DESIGNED TO AVOID ANY MISINTERPRETATION THAT COULD IMPLY ANY US/UK COMMITMENT TO ENDORSE A SALISBURY AGREEMENT IF UN SUGGESTIONS FOR IMPROVING IT WERE MET):

A. WE HAVE BEEN FOLLOWING AS CLOSELY AS POSSIBLE THE PROGRESS OF THE NEGOTIATIONS IN SALISBURY.

B. BASED ON WHAT WE KNOW OF THE DISCUSSIONS, WE ARE CONCERNED THAT ANY FINAL AGREEMENT EMERGING FROM THE TALKS WILL CREATE A SITUATION IN WHICH THE CONFLICT IN RHODESIA WILL ESCALATE, WITH THE ATTENDANT DANGER OF INCREASED EXTRA-CONTINENTAL INVOLVEMENT.

C. WE BELIEVE THAT SUCH A SITUATION SHOULD BE OF DIRECT CONCERN TO SOUTH AFRICA AS WELL.

D. IT IS PRECISELY TO AVOID THIS PROSPECT THAT THE BRITISH AND AMERICAN GOVERNMENTS TOOK THE INITIATIVE TO DEVELOP A PLAN THAT WOULD PRODUCE A CEASEFIRE AND CREATE CONDITIONS FOR A PEACEFUL TRANSFER OF POWER. WE CONTINUE TO BELIEVE THAT THE ANGLO-AMERICAN PROPOSALS PROVIDE THE BEST ROUTE TO A PEACEFUL SOLUTION AND, AS SUCH, WE CONTINUE TO SUPPORT THEM. IT WAS OUR HOPE THAT YOUR GOVERNMENT COULD HAVE GIVEN STRONGER SUPPORT TO OUR PROPOSALS.

E. IN THE MEANTIME, WE HAVE MADE CLEAR THAT WE DO NOT WISH TO PREJUDGE THE OUTCOME OF THE ONGOING TALKS IN SALISBURY.

F. IN LONDON, REV. SITHOLE SOUGHT TO OBTAIN BRITISH EN-
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DORSEMENT OF THE SALISBURY TALKS. DR. OWEN EXPLAINED WHY, BASED ON OUR KNOWLEDGE OF WHAT HAS THUS FAR BEEN NEGOTIATED, HE COULD NOT GIVE SUCH ENDORSEMENT.

G. SPECIFICALLY, OWEN INFORMED SITHOLE OF HIS VIEW THAT THE INTERNAL NATIONALISTS HAD GONE DANGEROUSLY FAR IN CONCEDING TWENTY EIGHT PERCENT WHITE REPRESENTATION IN THE

ASSEMBLY. IN THEIR OWN INTERESTS, THEY COULD NOT AFFORD TO GIVE VERY MUCH MORE AWAY, IF THE RESULTING AGREEMENT WAS TO PROVIDE FOR A GENUINE TRANSFER OF POWER TO AN INTERIM ADMINISTRATION AND FOR AN INDEPENDENCE CONSTITUTION THAT GUARANTEED GENUINE MAJORITY RULE. (NOTE: AT THIS POINT TALKING POINTS CONTINUE WITH LAST THREE SENTENCES OF PARA. 3 AND ALL 9 POINTS OF PARA. 4 ABOVE.)

H. WE ARE ALSO CONVEYING OUR CONCERNS TO BISHOP MUZOREWA.

I. WE FELT IT IMPORTANT THAT YOUR GOVERNMENT ALSO KNOW OUR VIEWS ON THE SALISBURY TALKS.

8. IF FOURI ASKS WHETHER WE WOULD OBJECT TO HIS PASSING ANY OF THIS ON TO MR. SMITH, HE SHOULD BE TOLD THAT WE LEAVE THAT TO HIM, BUT WOULD FIND IT MOST UNHELPFUL IF SMITH WERE TO USE THE INFORMATION TO ATTACK OUR MOTIVES AND OUR DESIRE FOR A GENUINE SETTLEMENT THAT IS FAIR TO ALL SCOTT COULD ADD THAT SITHOLE, ALTHOUGH PERHAPS DISAPPOINTED THAT DR. OWEN WAS NOT PREPARED TO ENDORSE THE SALISBURY TALKS, WAS RECEPTIVE TO MY ADVICE ON THE NEED TO ENSURE THAT MR. SMITH SHOULD NOT HEAD ANY INTERIM ADMINISTRATION AND THAT THE RHODESIA FRONT SHOULD NOT CONTROL THE SECURITY APPARATUS. ON THE QUESTION OF INVOLVING THE EXTERNALLY-BASED NATIONALIST LEADERS, HE WAS ADAMANT THAT NKOMO COULD
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NOT EXPECT SPECIAL TREATMENT BUT (BUT GAVE OWEN THE IMPRESSION THAT) HE WOULD CLEARLY LIKE TO SEE HIM INVOLVED IN SOME FASHION. (NOTE PARENTHESIS ADDED BY DEPT FOR ADDRESSEES FYI ONLY.)

9. NOTHING SHOULD BE PASSED TO SAG IN WRITING.

10. DEPARTMENT WILL ADVISE IF FOREGOING INSTRUCTIONS ARE FORWARDED BY FCO OR IF FURTHER AMENDMENTS ARE TO BE MADE.
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